

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

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FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE NAC

AT ITS MARCH 30 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN
GENERAL TERMS THE OUTLINE TO BE USED BY BELGIAN REP
(SMOLDEREN) IN MAKING REGULAR AHG ORAL REPORT TO THE
NAC APRIL 1. SMOLDEREN WILL BE ASSISTED BY US REP
AND DANISH DEP REP (SVANE). BELGIAN REP WILL DRAW ON
MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN
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FULL. UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO THE NAC, THE AD
HOC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE WORD-FOR-WORD
APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED
AS SPEAKING NOTES. AS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF
THE TEXT OF BELGIAN REP'S REPORT, WHICH WILL BE
DELIVERED IN FRENCH, FOLLOWS BELOW.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. MY REPORT TODAY ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS COVERS EVENTS SINCE THE LAST ORAL REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON MARCH 4 THRU THE PLENARY MEETING OF 31 MARCH 1977. DURING THIS PERIOD, THE PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF ACTIVITY IN EAST-WEST INFORMAL MEETINGS HAS BEEN ON THE CONTINUING DISCUSSION OF DATA WHICH EACH SIDE HAS TABLED FOR ITS MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AND OF THE RESPECTIVE COUNTING RULES USED TO COMPILE THAT DATA. MY REPORT TODAY WILL, THEREFORE, BE LARGELY DEVOTED TO THIS SUBJECT, BUT BEFORE TURNING TO IT I WOULD LIKE TO REVIEW OTHER, MORE GENERAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

II. GENERAL DEVELOPMENTS

2. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS OVER THE PAST MONTH HAVE KEPT UP THEIR STRONG ADVOCACY OF WESTERN PROPOSALS AS PROVIDING A SOUND BASIS FOR AN EQUITABLE AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT. THEY CONTINUED TO CALL UPON THE EAST TO GIVE THE POSITIVE AND SERIOUS RESPONSE MERITED BY THE WEST'S DECEMBER 1975 PROPOSALS SO AS TO OPEN THE WAY AT LAST TO GENUINE PROGRESS TOWARD A FIRST AGREEMENT.

3. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PRESSING FOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE OVERALL WESTERN PROGRAM, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE RECENTLY HIGHLIGHTED THREE SPECIFIC ISSUES. FIRST, THE DELEGATE OF LUXEMBOURG, HAS, IN PLENARY SESSION OF
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MARCH 10, MADE THE CASE FOR THE EQUITY AND PRACTICABILITY OF THE SELECTIVE WESTERN METHOD FOR DEALING WITH THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AS OPPOSED TO THE UNWORKABLE AND INEQUITABLE EASTERN REQUIREMENT THAT ALL ARMAMENTS BE REDUCED ACROSS-THE-BOARD. SECOND, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE CONTINUED TO REMIND THEIR EASTERN COUNTERPARTS THAT THE TIME IS OPPORTUNE TO BEGIN JOINT EXAMINATION OF THE STABILIZING MEASURES WHICH WILL BE NECESSARY TO REGULATE THE ACTIVITIES OF RESIDUAL SOVIET AND US FORCES IN THE AREA FOLLOWING THE REDUCTION OF THOSE FORCES IN A FIRST PHASE. THIRD, THEY HAVE RESTATED THE RATIONALE FOR THE WESTERN IDEA OF COMMON COLLECTIVE MANPOWER CEILINGS WITH SUB-CEILINGS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE AREA.

4. FOR THEIR PART, WHILE CONTINUING TO PRESS THE MERITS OF THEIR 19 FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE GIVEN WESTERN POSITION. IN A 17 MARCH PLENARY STATEMENT NOTEWORTHY FOR THE STIFFNESS OF ITS TONE, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE TARASOV LEVELED A POINT-BY-POINT CHARGE

ON THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE APPROACH TAKEN BY THE WEST
TO REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS. IN INFORMAL SESSIONS
DURING THE PAST MONTH, THE EAST HAS SINGLED OUT FOR
SPECIFIC CRITICISM THE WESTERN CONCEPTS OF COLLECTIVITY
AND OF MIXED-PACKAGE REDUCTIONS AND LIMITATIONS.
EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO BROUGHT THE WESTERN
POSITION ON FIRST-PHASE COMMITMENTS BY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS
OTHER THAN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION UNDER
HEAVY ATTACK, CHARGING THAT THE WEST EUROPEAN ALLIES AND
CANADA WERE ENDEAVORING TO AVOID ANY OBLIGATIONS WHATSOEVER
EVENTUALLY TO REDUCE AND LIMIT THEIR FORCES.
THERE HAS BEEN SOME INDICATIONS OF POSSIBLE EASTERN WILLING-
NESS TO SHIFT FROM ACROSS-THE-BOARD REDUCTIONS OF ALL
ARMAMENTS TO THOSE SPECIFIED FOR THE FIRST STAGE OF ITS
FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL.

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5. IN THE SAME PLENARY STATEMENT, AMBASSADOR TARASOV

POINTEDLY CLAIMED THAT OFFICIAL EASTERN FIGURES FOR WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER NOW ON THE TABLE IN VIENNA SHOWED THE WESTERN ASSERTION OF A SUBSTANTIAL DISPARITY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN TROOP STRENGTH IN THE AREA TO BE UNFOUNDED. HE WENT ON TO ALLEGE THAT STANDARD WESTERN OBJECTIONS -- NAMELY, THE ABSENCE OF DATA AND CONTRACTUALIZATION OF AN EASTERN MANPOWER SUPERIORITY -- TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL THAT EACH SIDE ACCEPT A FREEZE ON THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF ITS FORCES IN THE AREA FOR THE

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DURATION OF THE TALKS HAD NOW BEEN EQUALLY INVALIDATED. IN THIS LIGHT, TARASOV CALLED UPON THE WEST TO AGREE TO THE EASTERN INTERIM FREEZE INITIATIVE. AT THE WEEKLY PRESS BRIEFING FOLLOWING THE 17 MARCH PLENARY MEETING, THE EASTERN SPOKESMAN, WITH CONSPICUOUS ASSISTANCE FROM COOPERATIVE EASTERN JOURNALISTS, HIGHLIGHTED THESE SAME TWO THEMES.

6. ON 29 MARCH THE WEST RENEWED ITS REJECTION OF THE EASTERN FREEZE PROPOSAL FOR MILITARY MANPOWER DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND DEMONSTRATED THAT THE FREEZE PROPOSED BY THE WEST, WHICH WOULD BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF AN AGREEMENT TO REACH PARITY, WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GOALS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

III. DISCUSSION OF DATA

7. DURING THE INFORMAL MEETINGS, THE WEST HAS DEMONSTRATED, USING EASTERN QUOTATIONS IN SUPPORT OF ITS CASE, THE INCONSISTENCY IN THE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY THE EAST BEFORE AND AFTER THE TABLING OF ITS DATA. UP TO THEN, THE EAST HAD ALWAYS CRITICISED THE WESTERN COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN TERMS WHICH LOGICALLY IMPLIED A RECOGNITION BY THEM OF THE EXISTENCE OF CONSIDERABLE DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER: SINCE THEN THE EAST HAS BEEN CLAIMING THAT SUCH DISPARITIES DO NOT EXIST, BUT THEY DO THIS WITHOUT ANY LET UP IN THEIR CRITICISMS OF THE COMMON CEILING. THE EAST HAS RESPONDED TO THE WEST'S INCONSISTENCY ARGUMENTS BY DENYING EVER HAVING ADMITTED THE EXISTENCE OF DISPARITIES.

8. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE LARGELY CONCENTRATED THEIR ENQUIRY ON THE QUESTION OF WHICH PERSONNEL THE EAST HAS INCLUDED AND EXCLUDED FROM ITS DATA. EXPLORATION OF THIS AREA, WHICH IS ONE POSSIBLE SOURCE OF THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE FIGURES WHICH THE EAST HAS GIVEN ON ITS OWN FORCES AND WESTERN ASSESSMENTS FOR EASTERN FORCES, HAS NOT YIELDED ANY SIGNIFICANT RESULT.

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9. IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE TO RESPOND TO THE COUNTER QUESTIONS BY THE EASTERN NEGOTIATORS WITHOUT ANY PARTICULAR DIFFICULTY OR DELAY. THIS IS BECAUSE THE FOCUS OF DISCUSSION HAS LARGELY BEEN ON EASTERN FORCES AND THE EAST'S QUESTIONS ABOUT WESTERN DATA HAVE THUS FAR BEEN LITTLE MORE THAN PRO FORMA ATTEMPTS TO RECIPROATE.

10. FOR ITS PART THE EAST CLAIMS TO HAVE USED THE "ROSTERS" OF ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL FOR ALL UNITS AND WHICH INCLUDE NOT ONLY THE PERSONNEL ACTUALLY PRESENT BUT ALSO THOSE TEMPORARILY ABSENT FOR REASONS OF SICKNESS, HOLIDAY ETC. THEY ASKED WHAT CRITERION THE WEST HAD USED. WE REPLIED THAT IN EFFECT WE HAD EQUALLY TAKEN ACCOUNT OF ALL PERSONNEL ACTUALLY PRESENT AS WELL AS PERSONNEL TEMPORARILY ABSENT AND THAT AS A RESULT THE CRITERION USED BY THE TWO SIDES SEEMED PRACTICALLY THE SAME.

11. ACCORDING TO EASTERN NEGOTIATORS THE "ROSTER STRENGTH PRINCIPLE" DIFFERS FROM THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF "ACTUAL STRENGTH" INsofar AS IT IS BASED AT ANY PARTICULAR MOMENT ON PRECISE DOCUMENTATION WHICH ONLY THE STATE - OR GROUP OF STATES - CONCERNED POSSESSES AND WHICH CANNOT THEREFORE BE USED BY THIRD PARTIES. AS A RESULT, ACCORDING TO THE EASTERN NEGOTIATORS, THE ESTIMATES OF THIRD PARTIES ARE NECESSARILY ARBITRARY, APPROXIMATE OR INEXACT.

12. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE EAST IS ESSENTIALLY SUGGESTING THAT THE WEST ACCEPT THE EASTERN DATA WITHOUT FURTHER INQUIRY. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IS UNREALISTIC, PARTICULARLY IN A SITUATION WHEN THERE EXISTS A WIDE DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE NUMBER OF PACT MANPOWER IN THE AREA.

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK BY POUCH

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13. IN ORDER TO CARRY FORWARD AND DEEPEN THE DATA DISCUSSION, THE AD HOC GROUP EARLIER THIS MONTH REQUESTED AUTHORIZATION, WHICH THE COUNCIL SUBSEQUENTLY GRANTED, TO PROPOSE TO THE EAST THAT DATA COVERING US AND SOVIET FORCES BE PUT ON THE TABLE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE REDUCTION PROGRAM OF EITHER SIDE. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS FORMALLY INTRODUCED THIS PROPOSAL AT THE INFORMAL SESSION OF 15 MARCH. THE EAST REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL IMMEDIATELY.

14. IN THE INFORMAL SESSION OF 22 MARCH, WESTERN REPS AGAIN
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PROPOSED THAT PARTICIPANTS MOVE TO CONSIDER US AND SOVIET DATA. ONCE AGAIN, EASTERN REPS REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL AND URGED, AS AN ALTERNATIVE, THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TABLE SEPARATE DATA ON THEIR FORCES. IN SO DOING, EASTERN REPS STATED THAT ADOPTION OF THEIR COUNTER-PROPOSAL COULD ALSO BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE BASIC NEGOTIATING POSITION ON EACH SIDE, A POINT THE SOVIET REP HAD NEGLECTED TO MAKE THE WEEK BEFORE.

15. SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGES WITH THE EAST ON THE ISSUE OF NATIONAL TOTALS HAVE SERVED TO CONFIRM THE ASSESSMENT MADE IN THE 23 MARCH AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON THE SUBJECT THAT "PROLONGED DEBATE WITH THE EAST OVER THIS ISSUE IS NOT LIKELY TO LEAD TO REVERSAL OF THE EASTERN POSITION".

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

16. THE LAST PLENARY MEETING OF THE ELEVENTH ROUND WILL TAKE

PLACE ON 15 APRIL AND THE FIRST MEETING OF THE TWELFTH SESSION
WILL TAKE PLACE ON 12 MAY.

17. AS USUAL THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DRAW UP A WRITTEN REPORT

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE COUNCIL WHEN IT MEETS AT MINISTERIAL
LEVEL MAY 10. THE AD HOC GROUP INTEND TO SEND THIS REPORT ON
14 APRIL. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THE AD HOC GROUP ASSUMES THAT
THE COUNCIL WOULD NOT WISH TO HEAR ANOTHER ORAL REPORT ON
THE PRESENT ROUND.

V. CONCLUSIONS

18. IN SUMMING UP MY REPORT, I WOULD OFFER THE FOLLOWING
CONCLUSIONS:

- THE PAST MONTH HAS WITNESSED NO MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE MOVEMENT
IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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-EAST-WEST DISCUSSION OF COUNTING RULES AND DATA CONTINUES
TO BE THE MAIN FOCUS OF ACTIVITY.

-IN ORDER TO PRESS THE SEARCH FOR THE SOURCES OF THE
DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN FIGURES ON WARSAW
PACT FORCES, THERE IS A NEED TO MAKE THE DATA DISCUSSION MORE
SPECIFIC.

-THEREFORE, THE WEST SHOULD SOON DECIDE ON ITS NEXT STEP TO
CARRY THAT DISCUSSION FORWARD.

18. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS EXPRESSED ITS VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT
IN ITS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL OF 23 MARCH. END TEXT.RESOR

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